

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

DDI Breakfast with SSCI Members on 26 September 1985 at 8:00 a.m.
in the Executive Dining Room

FROM:

Charles A. Briggs, Director
Office of Legislative Liaison

EXTENSION

NO.

DATE

25 September 1985

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

OFFICER'S
INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

1 DCI

10/2

Attached for your information
are a guest list, menu, seating
arrangement, and biographies
for your breakfast tomorrow
morning with the SSCI Members.

2 D/OLL

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cc: DDCI

Charles A. Briggs

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DCI BREAKFAST with
Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Members
26 September 1985
8:00 a.m.
DCI Dining Room

Guests

Dave Durenberger (R., MN)
Patrick J. Leahy (D., VT), Vice Chairman
William S. Cohen (R., ME) (Probable)
Orrin G. Hatch (R., UT)
Frank H. Murkowski (R., AK)
Mitch McConnell (R., KY)
Ernest F. Hollings (D., SC)

Bernard McMahon, Majority Staff Director
Eric Newsom, Minority Staff Director

Agency Participants:

DDCI
D/OLL

CONFIDENTIAL

*Revision-25 Sept. 85

DINING ROOM EVENTS

TIME/DAY/DATE: 0800 -Thursday, 26 September 1985

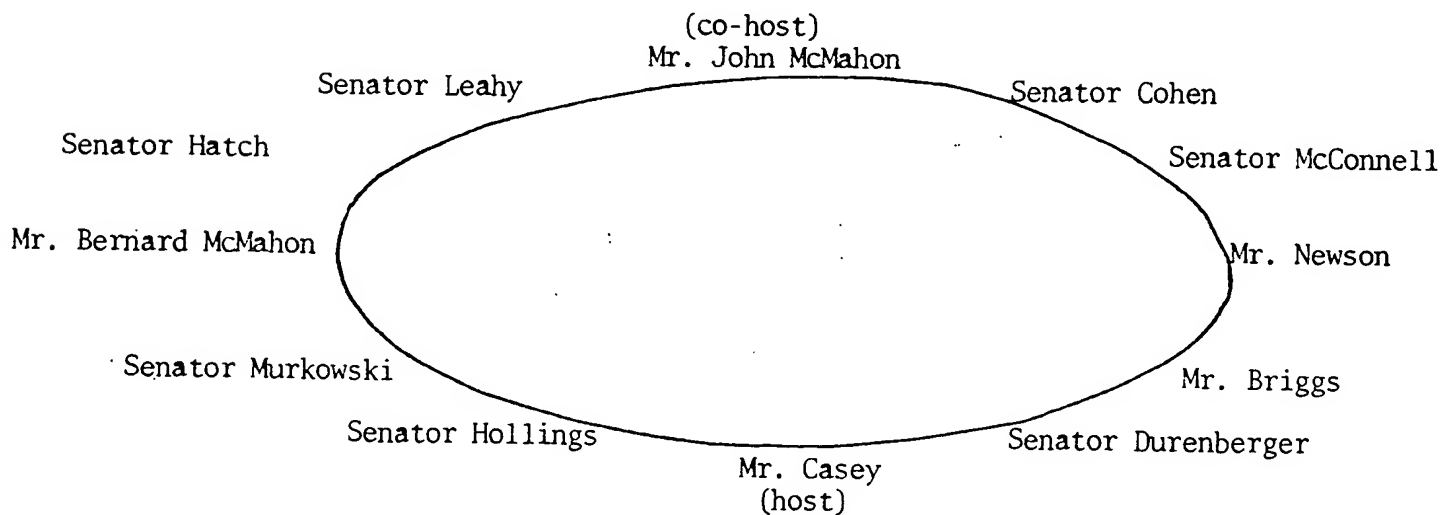
BREAKFAST XX LUNCHEON _____ DINNER _____HOST: DCI XX DDCI _____ EX DIR _____ OTHER: _____PLACE: DCI D.R. XX* EDR _____ OTHER: _____GUEST LIST: AgencyHillDCI, host
DDCI, co-host
D/OLL

Senator Dave Durenberger (R., MN),
 Chairman, SSCI
 Senator Patrick Leahy (D., VT),
 Vice Chairman, SSCI
 Senator William S. Cohen (R., ME)
 Senator Orrin Hatch (R., UT)
 Senator Frank Murkowski (R., AK)
 Senator Mitch McConnell (R., KY)
 Senator Ernest F. Hollings (D., SC)
 Mr. Bernard F. McMahon, Staff Director
 Mr. Eric D. Newsom, Min. Staff Director
 TOTAL: 12

MENU: Juice
 Fresh Fruit
 English Muffins
 Scrambled Eggs
 Bacon (Serve on Platters)
 Coffee/Tea

SEATING ARRANGEMENT:

(WINDOWS)

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Biographies

*Minnesota - Senior Senator***Dave Durenberger (R)****Of Minneapolis — Elected 1978****Born:** Aug. 18, 1934, St. Cloud, Minn.**Education:** St. John's U., B.A. 1955; U. of Minn., J.D. 1959.**Military Career:** Army Reserve, 1956-63.**Occupation:** Lawyer; adhesive manufacturing executive.**Family:** Wife, Gilda Beth "Penny" Baran; four children.**Religion:** Roman Catholic.**Political Career:** No previous office.**Capitol Office:** 375 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-3244.

In Washington: When Durenberger won this seat in 1978, ending 20 years of Democratic control, he brought a change not only in party but in personality. Watching him puff on his pipe at a committee meeting, quietly questioning the logic behind a tax subsidy, it is hard to imagine anyone less like the seat's former occupant, Hubert H. Humphrey. Durenberger after Humphrey is like chamber music after Tchaikovsky.

Ideologically, the difference is not so dramatic. Durenberger pays his respects to the progressive traditions of his state on issues of social services and war and peace. But Humphrey was an effusive, charismatic liberal of the heart. Durenberger, good-humored but analytical, hews to the middle and rarely lets his emotions show.

As a member of Finance and Governmental Affairs, he has specialized in two topics that do not much lend themselves to stem-winding rhetoric. One is his dogged promotion of a plan to rebuild the American health care system through tax incentives. The other is the soporific subject of federal-state relations.

Durenberger's health bill, a Republican answer to Democratic proposals for national health insurance and hospital cost controls, would use tax incentives to induce employers to offer their workers a choice of health insurance plans. The increased competition, Durenberger contends, would force doctors and hospitals to offer better care at a more reasonable price.

The proposal grew out of the success of prepaid health plans in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area. It drew a good deal of attention in the 97th Congress, after the new Republican Senate majority made him chairman of the Finance subcommittee governing health, but it made no progress amid the furor over budget and taxes. In the 98th Congress, Durenberger's subcommittee has been immersed in the financial problems of the Medicare program.

Like his views on health care, Durenberger's views on state-federal relations were born in Minnesota. He had his first taste of politics working in state government, and the experience seemed to give him faith in the competence of officials at that level to handle problems.

Durenberger has enhanced his reputation as a theorist of federal-state relations with his chairmanship of the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of Governmental Affairs. From that post, and as a member of various advisory groups on intergovernmental relations, Durenberger has pressed the theory of "devolution" — returning power to the most appropriate level of government.

Where Durenberger has differed sharply with the administration is on the financing of relocated programs. While he agrees with President Reagan that the states can be trusted to run income security programs, he believes the federal government is the fairest source of revenue.

Durenberger felt the Reagan New Federalism proposal of 1982 asked state and local governments to take on financial responsibilities they were in no shape to meet. "Some conclude that an appropriate federal partnership can be restored by simply abolishing much of the federal government," he said. "That argument fails to understand the recent history of this country."

In a speech to a convention of county officials, he reviewed the Reagan assertion that the federal government had somehow usurped power from the states, and dismissed it as "baloney."

During his first two years in the Senate, as the ranking Republican on the Finance subcommittee handling revenue sharing, Durenberger emerged as a leading defender of no-strings-attached grants to state governments.

Dave Durenberger, R-Minn.

In 1980 Durenberger got the Senate to vote down a House proposal requiring states that accept revenue-sharing to give up other federalaid, dollar-for-dollar. At House insistence, this tradeoff was later restored.

In general, Durenberger has proved more amenable than most Republicans toward preservation of the federal regulatory system. In the 96th Congress, he supported a measure to subsidize consumers who want to participate in regulatory agency hearings. He also aided with supporters of a strong bill to regulate lobbyists. When that bill was foundering on the question of whether lobby groups should be forced to disclose their corporate financial backers, Durenberger crafted a compromise requiring them to reveal the names of supporting organizations, but not the amount of the backing; his amendment narrowly failed, and the bill died with it.

During the 97th Congress, Durenberger generally supported President Reagan's budget and tax initiatives, while leaving plenty of distance between himself and the White House on other issues.

Durenberger was a principal author of the amendment to the 1981 tax bill that allowed unprofitable corporations to lease their unused tax breaks to other companies sitting on highly taxable profits. Tax leasing was intended as a way of assuring that needy Frost Belt industries such as steel and railroads would reap some benefits from the tax cuts aimed at spurring new industrial investment.

A side effect, however, was that many profitable companies ended up wiping out their tax liability. Tax leasing became an embarrassment that Congress repealed the following year, over Durenberger's resistance.

Durenberger fought Reagan administration efforts to abolish the Legal Services program for the poor. He also issued a white paper on national defense in 1982, taking the administration to task for its nuclear weapons buildup and proposing that the United States work toward withdrawing nuclear weapons from Europe.

When Reagan showed up for a fund-raising event in Minnesota, a crowd of protestors gathered outside. Durenberger said if he were not a senator, "I'd be out there demonstrating myself."

At Home: Durenberger's image as a quiet problem-solver has won him two impressive Senate victories in a period of four years.

His first campaign, in 1978, was the easier of the two. He rode a Minnesota Republican tide to a comfortable victory. Four years later he had to buck the economic failures of na-

tional and state GOP administrations and the unlimited financial resources of his Democratic rival. Although he won by a narrower margin, his second victory represented a more striking personal triumph.

Durenberger's presence in the Senate is the result of an unusual set of events. When the 1978 political year began, he was preparing a gubernatorial challenge that seemed to be going nowhere. When it ended, he was the state's senior senator.

Durenberger had hovered on the periphery of public office for years, as chief aide to GOP Gov. Harold Levander during the late 1960s and as a well-connected Minneapolis lawyer after that. But he was politically untested, and, in spite of a year-long campaign, he was given little chance to take the nomination for governor away from popular U.S. Rep. Albert H. Quie.

When interim Sen. Muriel Humphrey announced that she would not run for the remaining four years of her late husband's term, Republican leaders asked Durenberger to switch contests. He was easy to persuade.

Democratic disunity aided Durenberger immensely. The party's endorsed candidate, U.S. Rep. Donald M. Fraser, was defeated in a primary by the late Bob Short, a blustery conservative whose campaign against environmentalists alienated much of the Democratic left. Some Democrats chose not to vote in the general election, but even more deserted to Durenberger, who had the endorsement of Americans for Democratic Action. As a result, the Republican won a solid victory.

Durenberger's moderate views antagonized some in the Republicans' conservative wing. At the 1980 state GOP convention, a group of conservative activists, mainly from southern Minnesota, warned him to move right if he wanted their backing for re-election in 1982. Durenberger publicly dismissed their warning, calling it "minority party mentality."

He cleared a major hurdle in early 1981 when former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, a Minnesota senator from 1964 to 1976, announced that he would not seek the office again. That made Durenberger a heavy favorite for re-election, while opening the Democratic side for Mark Dayton, liberal young heir to a department store empire. Although politically inexperienced, Dayton sunk about \$7 million of his personal fortune into an intense two-year Senate campaign.

Dayton made no apologies for his spending, which threatened Jesse Helms' all-time Senate record of \$7.5 million, set in 1978. He contended that unlike Durenberger, he was not

Dave Durenberger, R-Minn.

dependent on special interest contributions, and that lavish spending was the only way he could offset the incumbent's perquisites and hefty campaign treasury.

For months Dayton saturated the media with advertising that sought to tie Durenberger to Reaganomics. This expensive blitz pulled Dayton up in the polls, but Durenberger was well positioned for re-election. He contended

that while he was an independent voice in Washington, he had Reagan's respect and could help moderate the administration's course.

Dayton swept the economically depressed Iron Range and the Democratic Twin Cities, but carried little else. Durenberger built a large lead in the suburbs of Minneapolis-St. Paul and most of rural Minnesota that carried him to a 109,000-vote victory statewide.

Committees

Environment and Public Works (8th of 9 Republicans)
Toxic Substances and Environmental Oversight (chairman);
Environmental Pollution; Water Resources

Finance (8th of 11 Republicans)
Health (chairman); Energy and Agricultural Taxation; Social Security and Income Maintenance Programs

Governmental Affairs (8th of 10 Republicans)
Intergovernmental Relations (chairman); Energy, Nuclear Proliferation and Government Processes; Information Management and Regulatory Affairs

Select Ethics (3rd of 3 Republicans)

Select Intelligence (6th of 8 Republicans)
Legislation and the Rights of Americans (chairman); Budget

Elections**1982 General**

Dave Durenberger (R) 849,207 (53%)
Mark Dayton (D) 840,401 (47%)

1982 Primary

Dave Durenberger (R) 287,651 (93%)
Mary Jane Rachner (R) 20,401 (7%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1978* (61%)

* Special election

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Durenberger (R)	\$3,974,883	\$985,491 (25%)	\$3,901,072
Dayton (D)	\$7,175,356	\$200 (.002%)	\$7,167,263

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	80	28	45	41	39	48
1981	73	24	88	25	59	33
1980	54	42	54	38	42	49
1979	68	30	50	43	33	59

S = Support

O = Opposition

Key Votes

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	+
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	Y
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	70	32	59	28	
1981	40	52	26	72	
1980	44	72	33	77	
1979	63	36	67	45	50

*Vermont - Junior Senator***Patrick J. Leahy (D)****Of Burlington — Elected 1974**

Born: March 31, 1940, Montpelier, Vt.
Education: St. Michael's College, B.A. 1961; Georgetown U., J.D. 1964.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Marcelle Pomerleau; three children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Chittenden County state's attorney, 1967-75.

Capitol Office: 433A Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-4242.



In Washington: Smart, affable and unpretentious, Leahy has not only the affection of Senate colleagues but their respect as well. An Irish Catholic with some of the plain-spoken qualities of a Vermont Yankee, he has survived nearly a decade of Senate life without picking up a trace of the self-importance that is the chamber's occupational disease.

The homespun quality that helps Leahy politically in Vermont also is helpful on the Senate floor. During one debate on an appropriation for home heating aid for the Northeast, Leahy was able to speak from experience: He had been home that weekend putting the storm windows on his house.

But Leahy is no hick. While he works hard to defend Vermont's dairy farmers, his interests are global — he spent much of the 97th Congress resisting President Reagan's policies on issues from arms control and foreign military aid to government secrecy and nutrition.

Leahy started fighting with the administration over agricultural issues almost as soon as Reagan was inaugurated. He strongly opposed the new administration's request for a cancellation in the scheduled increase in dairy prices, and led the fight against confirmation of John B. Crowell Jr. to be assistant secretary of agriculture. He complained about Crowell's involvement with a timber company whose subsidiary had been held liable for price fixing.

Crowell was confirmed overwhelmingly, but Leahy did have some success on the Agriculture Committee holding off efforts to make severe cuts in the food stamp program. Working closely with Nutrition Subcommittee Chairman Bob Dole of Kansas, he came up with a series of moderate reductions in food stamp spending that headed off a more draconian package of cuts sponsored by full committee Chairman Jesse Helms of North Carolina.

Leahy followed a similar bipartisan approach on the Judiciary Committee, joining

with Republican Paul Laxalt of Nevada in pushing a bill to reform the federal government's regulatory process. After lengthy negotiations, the two Judiciary Committee members came up with a compromise bill that passed the Senate unanimously. It would have imposed cost-benefit analysis on new federal rules and given Congress more say in their approval. "After all the years of people talking about making government work better, we've actually sat down and done something that will," Leahy said. But the bill never passed the House.

Leahy agreed to another Judiciary Committee compromise, this time with Republican Orrin G. Hatch of Utah, on the Freedom of Information Act. Although the landmark anti-secrecy law is a subject close to Leahy's heart — "it is sometimes difficult for me to remember that it is only a statute and not a part of the Constitution," he says — he helped work out a proposal to provide new protections against release of data relating to criminal investigations. But Leahy swore he would filibuster the bill if any further weakening of the law was approved on the Senate floor. As it turned out, the measure never reached the floor.

And in a departure from the usual rules of senatorial courtesy, Leahy joined with Hatch in persuading the Judiciary Committee that ethical indiscretions and a lack of experience disqualified a Democratic colleague's former campaign manager from serving as a federal judge. It was the first time in 42 years that the committee had rejected a judicial nominee.

Leahy refused to go along with Hatch and other Republicans on a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget. An outspoken opponent of the idea, Leahy offered four unsuccessful floor amendments that would have suspended the balanced budget requirement in times of high unemployment. Noting

Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt.

that the proposal allowed a budget waiver in times of war, Leahy said the Senate votes meant it was easier to send Americans to war than to work. The constitutional change passed the Senate but died in the House.

Leahy's seat on the Select Intelligence Committee brought further occasions for conflict with the Reagan administration. A long-time opponent of the administration's policy in El Salvador, Leahy went to Central America early in 1983. Without saying so directly, he implied that the trip had convinced him that the administration was violating the law by providing aid to anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua. Leahy also has been one of the strongest proponents in the Senate of a nuclear weapons freeze.

After a two-year stint on Armed Services at the beginning of his Senate career, Leahy went to Appropriations, where he has served since 1977. That move proved to be a mixed blessing: as the most junior member eligible to chair a subcommittee, he had to spend four years heading the panel responsible for the District of Columbia's budget — a job with virtually no political benefit.

Despite his distaste for the job and his underlying belief in home rule for the District of Columbia on budget matters, Leahy was far from reticent about scrutinizing District spending requests and fighting those he considered unjustified.

He called the city's proposed new convention center a "taxpayer rip-off," infuriating D.C. Mayor Marion Barry, who called Leahy "that rinky-dink senator from the state nobody's ever heard of." Leahy had jerseys printed up for his softball team that read "Rinky Dink Senator from Vermont."

Although he eventually approved the convention center project, Leahy remained skeptical of its backers' plans even after he gave up the District subcommittee chair. He offered an amendment in 1982 to bar the center from sponsoring sporting events or concerts for profit, but it was defeated 40-54.

The Appropriations Committee also provides Leahy with a vantage point from which to attack enforcement of anti-pollution laws by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). A member of the subcommittee that has jurisdiction over the EPA budget, Leahy has been one of the most outspoken critics of the agency under Reagan, saying it has been unwilling or

unable to carry out the environmental laws passed by Congress.

At Home: Leahy has survived in Vermont by emphasizing his roots in the state rather than his roots in the Democratic Party. Campaigning for a second term in 1980 against the national Republican tide, he fought off a New York-born GOP challenger with a carefully designed slogan: "Pat Leahy: Of Vermont, For Vermont."

It took that slogan and all the other ingenuity Leahy could summon to overcome the challenge from Stewart Ledbetter, former state banking and insurance commissioner. When the centrist Ledbetter won a primary victory over a more strident Republican, Leahy was placed in instant jeopardy. With financial help from national Republican groups, Ledbetter sought to convince voters that the incumbent was "out of touch with the thinking people of our state."

Ledbetter said Leahy was a free-spender and weak on defense. Leahy responded by explaining in detail why he opposed the B-1 bomber and citing cases in which he had supported the Pentagon.

It was well after midnight before the result became clear, but the last trickle of ballots gave Leahy re-election by less than 3,000 votes, preserving his record of uninterrupted success as a Democrat in a Republican state.

Leahy started that record in Burlington, the state's one major Democratic stronghold, by winning election as Chittenden County state's attorney at age 26. He revamped the office and headed a national task force of district attorneys probing the 1973-74 energy crisis.

So when he decided in 1974 to run for the Senate seat being vacated by Republican George D. Aiken, he had a solid base in Chittenden County to build on. At 34, Leahy was still a little young to replace an 82-year-old institution in a tradition-minded state, but he was already balding and graying, and looked older than he was.

Leahy was an underdog in 1974 against U.S. Rep. Richard W. Mallary, who was widely viewed as heir-apparent and promised to vote in the Aiken tradition. But Mallary turned out to be a rather awkward campaigner, and Watergate had made Vermont more receptive to the heresy of voting Democratic than it had been in modern times.

Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt.

Committees

Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry (2nd of 8 Democrats)
 Agricultural Production, Marketing and Stabilization of Prices (ranking); Nutrition, Rural Development, Oversight and Investigations.

Appropriations (11th of 14 Democrats)
 District of Columbia (ranking); Foreign Operations; HUD - Independent Agencies; Interior and Related Agencies.

Judiciary (8th of 8 Democrats)
 Security and Terrorism (ranking); Constitution; Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks

Select Intelligence (8th of 7 Democrats)
 Legislation and the Rights of Americans (vice chairman); Budget.

Elections

1980 General
 Patrick Leahy (D) 104,176 (50%)
 Stewart Ledbetter (R) 101,421 (49%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1974 (50%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1980			
Leahy (D)	\$525,547	\$213,760 (41%)	\$434,644
Ledbetter (R)	\$535,064	\$132,040 (25%)	\$532,904

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	37	62	91	9	12	88
1981	34	60	76	8	4	84
1980	64	22	72	16	13	75
1979	76	18	80	15	16	77
1978	87	10	90	7	13	84
1977	77	18	74	15	18	75
1976	36	51	91	5	7	89
1975	43	52	91	2	3	87

S = Support

O = Opposition

Key Votes

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981) N
 Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981) Y
 Index income taxes (1981) N
 Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981) Y
 Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982) Y
 Retain tobacco price supports (1982) N
 Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982) N
 Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982) N
 Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982) Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	90	19	92	45
1981	95	5	89	6
1980	83	16	83	43
1979	89	19	79	9
1978	65	21	79	24
1977	80	15	80	17
1976	85	8	85	0
1975	72	19	90	25

Maine - Senior Senator

William S. Cohen (R)

Of Bangor — Elected 1978

Born: Aug. 28, 1940, Bangor, Maine.

Education: Bowdoin College, B.A. 1962; Boston U., LL.B. 1965.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Diane Dunn; two children.

Religion: Unitarian.

Political Career: Bangor City Council, 1969-72; mayor of Bangor, 1971-72; U.S. House, 1973-79.

Capitol Office: 131 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-2523.



In Washington: Cohen no longer draws the headlines that he attracted a decade ago, when he argued for President Nixon's impeachment on the House Judiciary Committee. Since his arrival in the Senate in 1979, he has established a record of solid workaday productivity on his two major committees, Armed Services and Governmental Affairs.

He still has a flair for subtle self-promotion — a diary of his first year in the Senate, published in 1981, portrays a senator almost too sincere and too thoughtful to be believed. But most of his legislative accomplishments have had little to do with public relations.

On Armed Services, Cohen is respected for his work as chairman of the Sea Power Subcommittee. He has been sympathetic to the "military reform" proposals of Colorado Democrat Gary Hart, who feels the Navy should focus its efforts on building larger numbers of smaller ships. But he is generally on the side of substantially increased military spending, and he worries that the American public might never support the effort needed to match the Soviet Navy.

"We live in a free society which simply will not appropriate the number of dollars necessary," he has said, "at a time in which the American people think they are at peace." He himself is not so sure we are at peace.

A vigorous opponent of the SALT II treaty, Cohen has some novel ideas about arms control. Early in 1983 he began pushing the idea of a "guaranteed arms build-down," under which the superpowers would agree to eliminate two older nuclear warheads or bombers for every new one they built. The proposal, developed with Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn, attracted considerable interest within the Reagan administration.

While his Watergate fame has faded, Cohen remains interested in the issues that emerged from it, such as the 1978 special

prosecutor law. He agreed with the Reagan administration that the law was not working well — its provisions were put into effect too easily and applied to too many people.

But Cohen refused to abandon the law, as the Reagan White House proposed. Instead, he developed legislation, reported by his Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management, that tightened the standards for appointing a special prosecutor. The bill became law early in 1983.

In that effort, Cohen worked closely with subcommittee Democrat Carl Levin of Michigan; the two also combined in 1982 to produce a law protecting Social Security disability recipients from a rapid loss of benefits. Cohen was sharply critical of President Reagan's campaign to cut disability rolls, which he said inflicted severe hardship on many innocent people.

At Home: Cohen all but assured himself of a statewide political future on the day he spoke out for Nixon's impeachment, carving an image not only as a Republican of conscience, but as a man who knew how to give a good speech.

His good looks, easygoing manner and careful questioning were perfect for television. As one of just six Judiciary Committee Republicans favoring impeachment, he drew wide media attention, most of it favorable. *Time* magazine named him one of America's 200 future leaders, and the Jaycees called him one of the 10 outstanding young men in the nation.

From that point on, his elevation to the Senate was pretty much a matter of time.

If there had been no Watergate, however, the odds are he would be in the Senate by now anyway. His Judiciary Committee performance merely added to the "rising star" reputation he had carried with him most of his life, beginning in his high school and college days on the basketball court.

William S. Cohen, R-Maine

He thought about becoming a Latin scholar, but went to law school instead and finished among the top 10 members of his class. It was less than a decade from law school to the Bangor mayoralty.

Cohen became mayor in 1971, after three years on the City Council. But he did not hold the job very long. Rep. William D. Hathaway was running for the Senate the same year, and his 2nd District was open. Cohen won it easily, doing exceptionally well for a Republican in many Democratic areas.

After the 1974 period of Watergate celebrity, Cohen began to think about the proper timing for a Senate effort — he spent nearly a year considering a 1976 campaign against Maine's senior senator, Edmund S. Muskie. Private polls showed him close to Muskie, but challenging the state's most durable Democrat was no sure thing. Prudence dictated a two-year wait and a campaign against Hathaway, more liberal and less of an institution.

Knowing he was in trouble, Hathaway worked hard to save himself in 1978, but Cohen had almost no weaknesses. The personal glamour of 1974 had never really worn off, and state and national media refurbished it for the campaign. Cohen shifted slightly to the right, arguing that Hathaway was too liberal for most of Maine. He also worked for Democratic votes, concentrating his efforts in such places as Portland's Irish-Catholic Munjoy Hill section.

Hathaway had not done anything in particular to offend the voters, but the challenger overwhelmed him. The Democrat was held in a three-way contest to 33.9 percent, one of the lowest figures for any Senate incumbent.

One of Cohen's few political missteps was his all-out support for Tennessee Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr. for the 1980 Republican presidential nomination. Cohen tried to engineer a straw-poll victory for Baker at a late 1979 statewide party gathering in Portland, but the Tennessean lost in a surprise to George Bush.

Committees

Armed Services (6th of 10 Republicans)
Sea Power and Force Projection (chairman), Manpower and Personnel; Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces

Governmental Affairs (5th of 10 Republicans)
Oversight of Government Management (chairman), Energy, Nuclear Proliferation and Government Processes, Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations

Select Intelligence (8th of 8 Republicans)
Budget, Collection and Foreign Operations, Legislation and the Rights of Americans

Special Aging (5th of 8 Republicans)

Elections**1978 General**

William Cohen (R)	212,294	(56%)
William Hathaway (D)	127,327	(34%)
Hayes Gehagan (I)	27,824	(7%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1976* (77%) 1974* (71%)
1972* (54%)

* House elections

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1978			
Cohen (R)	\$656,254	\$157,551 (24%)	\$648,739
Hathaway (D)	\$423,495	\$166,594 (39%)	\$423,027

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	67	31	62	36	47	52
1981	76	19	69	25	59	36

	1980	43	42	64	23	58	30
1975	55	37	62	34	55	38	
House service							
1978	39	37	58	27	59	24	
1977	67	29	50	44	48	45	
1976	43	57	41	58	50	50	
1975	62	37	66	42	49	48	
1974 (Ford)	48	37					
1974	55	43	42	50	38	57	
1973	53	46	46	52	38	60	

S = Support

O = Opposition

Key Votes

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	N
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	N

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	55	57	27	42	
1981	35	61	33	76	
1980	33	66	22	70	
1975	42	62	39	64	53
House service					
1978	30	58	21	63	
1977	65	48	59	62	
1976	50	18	52	38	
1975	74	54	57	59	
1974	61	27	64	40	
1973	52	27	64	45	

Utah - Junior Senator

Orrin G. Hatch (R)

Of Midvale — Elected 1976

Born: March 22, 1934, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Education: Brigham Young U., B.S. 1959; U. of Pittsburgh, LL.B. 1962.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Elaine Hansen; six children.
Religion: Mormon.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 135 Russell Bldg. 20515; 224-5251.



In Washington: Hatch's rapid rise to power in the Senate has been accompanied by a shift toward the political center, one that has lessened the aura of militance that made him a "New Right" favorite during his first years in office.

Hatch insists he has not changed much — he says he never deserved the "ultra-conservative" label. But if his ideology is not greatly different, his style certainly is: Over two years as chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee and the Constitution Subcommittee at Judiciary, Hatch has sometimes sounded so conciliatory that those watching have wondered what happened to him.

"If I didn't know better," a liberal House Democrat remarked after watching Hatch during a 1981 budget conference, "I would have thought I heard the distinct accents of a born-again liberal." At the time, Hatch was fighting successfully to retain \$1 billion in the budget for education and training programs. He had just finished persuading the Reagan administration not to seek cuts in funding for the Job Corps. He was not the labor-baiting Republican they had come to know.

"The chairman can't just snap his fingers and expect things to happen," Hatch has said, and his experience as head of his two panels bears him out. He was repeatedly frustrated in the 97th Congress, and had to make major compromises in hopes of passing legislation. Those deals sometimes angered his hard-line supporters.

The Labor Committee under Hatch has been deadlocked between liberals and conservatives. His Judiciary panel has considered an ambitious agenda of longtime goals of conservatives, such as a balanced federal budget and abortion curbs, but none of the proposals has yet become law.

As he searches patiently for compromise, Hatch seems far different from the aggressive outsider who arrived in 1977, ready to do battle with the Washington establishment and its

"soft-headed inheritors of wealth." He was an angry man in those days, and he quickly drew a reputation as a humorless person who did not fit well into Senate camaraderie.

"Borin' Orrin," critics called him, after his slow monotone occupied the Senate for weeks as he mounted a successful filibuster against the 1978 labor law revision bill. That was partly sour grapes from backers of the bill, but it reflected a widespread perception even on his own side of the aisle. In 1979, when he ran for the chairmanship of the Senate GOP campaign committee, Hatch thought he had enough commitments of support to win. But when the vote was taken, John Heinz of Pennsylvania had beaten him. Some senators said afterward that Hatch's reputation as a strident conservative ideologue had cost him votes.

The perception had begun to change by the time Hatch took over the Labor Committee in 1981. It evolved further as he worked to resolve the deep disagreements on the panel over President Reagan's proposed budget cuts.

The Reagan administration proposed ending many of the existing programs and replacing them with "block grants" to the states, at a lower level of funding. But there was no majority for that approach. Hatch labored through the spring to find a compromise position that could win a committee majority without losing the support of the administration. Ultimately, he agreed to a compromise turning some of the programs into block grants, but leaving many of them intact.

Meanwhile, Hatch had shown considerable skill in managing the committee through an earlier controversy — the nomination of Raymond J. Donovan to be secretary of labor. Despite criticism from the White House, Hatch insisted on a vigorous investigation of Donovan, who was accused of having ties to organized crime.

Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah

Even after he was confirmed by the Senate, however, Donovan's legal problems persisted, and Hatch was dragged further into the case. When committee staffers renewed their investigation, Donovan associates hired private detectives to investigate the staffers. There was even an alleged death threat against one staff member. A special federal prosecutor eventually declined to indict Donovan, but not until after Hatch learned with some irritation that White House officials had withheld damaging information from the committee during the nomination hearings.

Many labor loyalists were sure that Hatch's chairmanship would guarantee angry confrontations between him and the unions. Ever since he led the 1978 labor law filibuster, Hatch had been viewed by labor as its arch-enemy in the Senate. The reality has been far less cataclysmic.

As chairman in the 97th Congress, Hatch did win committee approval for a few relatively minor bills fighting labor corruption. But more controversial proposals, such as changes in pension laws, went nowhere. "It is next to impossible to do anything on that committee without the approval of labor union leaders in Washington," he has complained.

Another Hatch proposal, which got through the Labor panel but not much further, would have allowed help for people in Utah and other Western states who had been exposed to radiation during the atomic bomb tests of the 1950s. Hatch proposed that cancer victims be eligible for claims against the government if they could show that there was even a small statistical chance that their disease was caused by the radiation exposure. But the proposal had high potential costs and complex legal implications, and it never reached the floor.

Hatch's job on the Judiciary Committee changed in 1981 from one of blocking liberal legislation to that of trying to advance conservative proposals.

His most notable success during the 97th Congress as chairman of the Constitution Subcommittee was the narrow Senate approval in 1982 of a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. With strong backing from President Reagan, Hatch secured the two-thirds majority needed for passage. The House rejected the amendment.

The debate over the balanced budget proposal was mild, however, compared with the storm of controversy Hatch encountered on the abortion issue. Hatch ended up thoroughly angering many militant "right-to-life" anti-abortionists, but not making much progress on his own anti-abortion proposal.

Hatch argued that only a constitutional amendment would be sufficient to overturn the Supreme Court's decision permitting abortion — a crucial difference with militant groups that wanted to ban abortion by statute and thus avoid the constitutional amendment process.

Moreover, Hatch's amendment in effect turned the issue over to the states, allowing them to make any decision they wanted, while some right-to-life groups sought a national prohibition. Hatch's constitutional amendment was approved by the Judiciary Committee, but never made it to the Senate floor.

Before the Republican takeover of the Senate, Hatch won a notable victory on Judiciary in blocking legislation to strengthen federal enforcement of open housing laws. He led a successful filibuster against the bill late in the 1980 congressional session.

He sought to add to the bill a requirement that the government prove that alleged violators of open housing laws had intended to discriminate in the sale or rental of housing. But last-minute negotiations broke down, and the bill died.

In the 97th Congress, the most important civil rights issue at Judiciary was extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and here too Hatch was one of the critics.

He focused on the "intent" concept. Civil rights groups were pushing to expand the law to allow voting rights violations to be proved by showing that an election law or procedure produced a discriminatory result, whether intentional or not.

Hatch sought to retain the existing law's standard, which required proof that there had been an intent to discriminate in setting up election laws. The "results" test, he warned, would lead to proportional representation of minorities in Congress and state legislatures. But the Judiciary Committee approved a compromise version essentially retaining the "results" test.

At Home: If Hatch has changed in Washington, the perception of him by his critics in Utah has not. Bidding for a second term in 1982, he found himself under strong challenge for being rigid both in his conservative views and his personal style.

Ted Wilson, his affable Democratic opponent, was a more than credible candidate. As two-term mayor of Salt Lake City, Wilson had become a well-known figure throughout the state, and he carefully began building his challenge to Hatch a year in advance. With Wilson trailing the incumbent by only 7 percentage points in a January 1982 poll taken by the

Utah - Junior Senator

Deseret News in Salt Lake City, Hatch looked vulnerable.

Wilson was not the only one with designs on the incumbent. After Hatch blocked labor law revision in 1978, the late AFL-CIO President George Meany had vowed, "We'll defeat you no matter what it takes." But while Hatch's longtime status as a labor antagonist guaranteed Wilson strong union support, unions are not the most useful allies in conservative Utah. Being a labor target almost certainly did Hatch more good than harm.

Hatch also sought to meet complaints about his demeanor. Funding a television campaign with a treasury nearly three times the size of his opponent's, he ran ads that showed him playing with children and dogs.

Wilson, hoping to maintain his early momentum, spent much of the campaign sifting through various strategies searching for a way to undo the incumbent. He branded Hatch's politics as extremist, indicted his style as "strident and contentious," accused him of caring more about national conservative causes than about Utah, and, finally, criticized the Reagan economic philosophy that Hatch vowed he would continue to fight for if re-elected.

The latter approach probably did not help. Utah gave Reagan 73 percent of its presidential ballots in 1980 — his best showing in the country — and the president's popularity remained high there in late 1982. Buoyed by two Reagan visits to the state during the campaign, Hatch held onto his seat with nearly 60 percent of the vote.

Reagan also played an important role in Hatch's path to Washington in 1976. Then a political neophyte, Hatch mounted a Senate candidacy that represented as pure an example of anti-Washington politics as the nation has seen in recent years.

Hatch's lack of government experience at any level almost certainly helped him. In his private legal practice, he had represented clients fighting federal regulations.

Hatch was recruited for the Senate campaign against incumbent Democrat Frank E. Moss by conservative leader Ernest Wilkerson, who had challenged Moss in 1964. The campaign attracted the zeal and money of some conservatives who had been politically inactive.

Hatch's competitor for the Republican nomination was Jack W. Carlson, former U.S. assistant secretary of the interior. Carlson, seen as the front-runner, underscored his extensive Washington experience, arguing that it would make him a more effective senator. Besides the Interior Department, he had served with the Office of Management and Budget, the Council of Economic Advisers and the Defense Department.

That was the wrong record for Utah in 1976. Hatch, seeing that the state was fed up with federal rules, took the opposite approach. The party convention gave him 778 votes to 930 for Carlson, a Ford supporter. In the weeks that remained before the primary, Hatch won numerous converts. The day before the voting, he reinforced his conservative credentials by running newspaper ads trumpeting his endorsement by Reagan. Hatch won by almost 2-to-1.

The primary gave Hatch a publicity bonus that helped him catch up to Moss, who faced no party competitors. Moss, seen as a liberal by Utah standards, had helped himself at home by investigating Medicaid abuses and fighting to ban cigarette advertising from television. He stressed his seniority and the tangible benefits it had brought the state. But Hatch argued successfully that the real issue was limiting government and taxes, and that he would be more likely to do that than Moss.

Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah**Committees**

Labor and Human Resources (Chairman)
Education, Arts and the Humanities, Employment and Productivity, Labor.

Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry (10th of 10 Republicans)
Agriculture, Research and General Legislation, Nutrition, Soil and Water Conservation, Forestry and Environment.

Budget (5th of 12 Republicans)

Judiciary (4th of 10 Republicans)

Constitution (chairman), Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks, Security and Terrorism.

Small Business (3rd of 10 Republicans)

Government Regulation and Paperwork (chairman), Capital Formation and Retention.

Elections

1982 General

Orrin G. Hatch (R) 309,332 (58%)
Ted Wilson (D) 219,482 (41%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1978 (54%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Hatch (R)	\$3,834,906	\$884,762 (23%)	\$3,490,953
Wilson (D)	\$1,706,409	\$339,784 (20%)	\$1,670,409

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	79	14	80	12	80	6
1981	87	11	86	8	81	7
1980	81	85	79	15	82	15
1979	27	68	80	3	80	3
1978	19	75	83	3	83	3
1977	41	49	88	1	81	1

S = Support

O = Opposition

Key Votes

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	Y
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	.

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	5	95	5	70	
1981	0	85	11	100	
1980	17	96	11	90	
1979	11	96	6	100	87
1978	5	96	11	94	
1977	0	92	12	100	

*Alaska - Junior Senator***Frank H. Murkowski (R)****Of Fairbanks — Elected 1980****Born:** March 28, 1933, Seattle, Wash.**Education:** Seattle University, B.A. 1955.**Military Career:** Coast Guard, 1955-56.**Occupation:** Banker.**Family:** Wife, Nancy Gore; six children.**Religion:** Roman Catholic.**Political Career:** Alaska commissioner of economic development, 1967-70; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1970.**Capitol Office:** 254 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-6665.

In Washington: Murkowski, unlike most of the 16 Republicans in the Senate class of 1980, went virtually unnoticed by the national media during his first two years in office. While Jeremiah Denton, John P. East, Paula Hawkins and other freshman senators were grabbing headlines — many of them unflattering — Murkowski kept a very low profile.

Most of his work was as a junior partner to Alaska's senior senator, Ted Stevens, the GOP majority whip. Murkowski, Stevens and two other senators played a key role in prodding construction of the Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline. The pipeline is to deliver gas from Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, to users throughout the continental United States.

The 1977 law authorizing construction of the pipeline stipulated that the project would be privately financed, and that gas consumers could not be billed for the construction costs until the line was completed and operating. But construction costs have quadrupled beyond original estimates.

Murkowski joined in an effort to write a partial waiver of the 1977 law so that consumers would be billed as large portions of the pipeline were completed. Despite objections that the waivers were a consumer rip-off, both the House and the Senate approved them.

Murkowski also has worked with Stevens in pushing for a bill directing the federal government to share with coastal states some of the revenue from offshore oil and gas leases. No other state has as much of its offshore acreage leased for drilling as Alaska.

Efforts by some senators to reduce the seal harvest on Alaska's Pribilof Islands prompted Murkowski to enter foreign policy. The federal government pays Aleuts on the Pribilofs \$250,000 to harvest the seal skins during the five-week summer breeding season. The harvest is then distributed among U.S., Canada,

Japan and the Soviet Union.

Murkowski says this arrangement provides much-needed jobs for the Aleuts. But Christopher J. Dodd of Connecticut, a member of Foreign Relations, argued in the 97th Congress that taxpayers' money should not be spent on killing seals.

Dodd's proposal for a drastic reduction in the harvest was beaten 9-6 in the Foreign Relations Committee. On the floor, the arrangement was extended after Dodd's side attached a provision calling for a study to explore alternative sources of employment for the Aleuts.

At the beginning of the 98th Congress, Murkowski left his seat on Environment and Public Works to become the only newly added member of Foreign Relations. Murkowski's presence does nothing to shift the balance on the committee, where the GOP has a 9-8 advantage. Murkowski follows the same pro-administration line as the man he replaced, retired California Sen. S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa.

Murkowski took Hayakawa's spot as chairman of the Foreign Relations subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, a useful forum to speak for his constituents who are concerned about Japanese fishing in Alaskan waters.

At Home: Except for three years in state government and one failed campaign for the House, Murkowski had spent his entire adult life in banking before he announced for the Senate in June of 1980.

His status as a relative newcomer to politics hardly seemed an advantage against Democrat Clark S. Gruening, a popular two-term state legislator and grandson of the legendary Ernest Gruening, a former Alaska senator and governor. But Democratic disunity and the Reagan tide brought Murkowski a solid victory.

Throughout much of the early campaign

Frank H. Murkowski, R-Alaska

season, Murkowski's effort was obscured by the bitter Democratic primary. To win the Democratic nomination, Gruening had to get past Sen. Mike Gravel, the two-term incumbent. It was a matter of revenge for Gruening; Gravel was the man who had ousted his grandfather from the Senate 12 years before.

Gravel's legislative behavior helped make Gruening's primary victory possible. Battling to prevent the Senate from enacting legislation restricting development of Alaska's lands, Gravel resorted to an obstructionism so strident and obnoxious that he did his cause more harm than good. A few days before the primary, the Senate succeeded in closing debate on a Gravel filibuster against the Alaska bill, lending credence to Gruening's charges that he had lost influence in the chamber. Although forecasters had predicted a tight race, Gruening won by a comfortable margin.

Gruening also outpolled Murkowski by more than 2-to-1 in Alaska's open primary, in which all candidates appear on the same ballot regardless of party affiliation. Although Murkowski took the GOP nomination with ease, the comparison seemed significant — historically, the top vote getter in the primary has gone on to win the general election.

But Murkowski was able to buck tradition

by keeping attention focused on Gruening's record in the Legislature. Accusing him of being too liberal for the state's electorate, Murkowski claimed the Democrat had supported the legalization of marijuana. He also tied Gruening to the environmentalist Sierra Club, anathema to pro-development Alaskans.

Gruening claimed his legislative experience made him more qualified to be a U.S. senator. But most voters did not agree. Buoyed by national Republican help and a treasury exceeding \$700,000 — nearly half of which came from political action committees — Murkowski did very well in his Fairbanks base and upset Gruening in the Democrat's hometown of Anchorage, Alaska's largest city.

A Seattle native who moved to Alaska while in high school, Murkowski got his first taste of elective politics in 1970. That year he defeated a member of the John Birch Society in a Republican primary for Alaska's at-large House seat, left vacant when Rep. Howard W. Pollock sought the governorship. He lost the general election to Democratic state Sen. Nick Begich, but the experience whet his appetite. After serving for nine years as president of the Alaska National Bank of the North, at Fairbanks, he quit banking and announced for the Senate.

Committees

Energy and Natural Resources (7th of 11 Republicans)
Energy Regulation (chairman), Energy and Minerals Resources,
Water and Power.

Foreign Relations (9th of 9 Republicans)
East Asian and Pacific Affairs (chairman), International Economic Policy, Western Hemisphere Affairs

Select Indian Affairs (4th of 4 Republicans)

Veterans Affairs (4th of 7 Republicans)

Elections

1980 General

Frank Murkowski (R)	84,159 (54%)
Clark Gruening (D)	72,007 (46%)

1980 Primary

Frank Murkowski (R)	16,292 (59%)
Arthur Kennedy (R)	5,527 (20%)
Morris Thompson (R)	3,635 (13%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1980			
Murkowski (R)	\$712,837	\$304,971 (43%)	\$697,387
Gruening (D)	\$512,411	\$2,750 (.1%)	\$507,445

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	79	11	91	5	89	1
1981	82	11	83	11	85	9

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	?
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	Y
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	10	70	24	70
1981	15	65	24	93

Kentucky - Junior Senator

Mitch McConnell (R)

Of Louisville — Elected 1984

Born: Feb. 20, 1942, Sheffield, Ala.

Education: U. of Louisville, B.A. 1964; U. of Kentucky, J.D. 1967.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Divorced; three children.

Religion: Baptist.

Political Career: Jefferson County judge/executive, 1978-85.

Capitol Office: 120 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-2541.



The Path to Washington: Three things brought McConnell to Congress: Bloodhounds, Ronald Reagan and dogged persistence in the face of seemingly daunting odds.

For much of 1984, few people believed McConnell had much chance of defeating two-term Democratic Sen. Walter D. Huddleston. Even some Republican leaders complained that McConnell had a "citified" image that would not play well in most parts of Kentucky; his base was metropolitan Louisville, where he had twice been elected Jefferson County judge, the county's top administrative post.

But McConnell hit upon a clever, homey advertising gimmick to get across his claim that Huddleston had been a "shadow senator" of limited influence who was often absent from committee meetings. McConnell aired TV ads showing a pack of bloodhounds sniffing frantically around Washington in search of the incumbent.

The hound dog gimmick got people talking about a race they previously had ignored as humdrum, and many voters concluded that McConnell had a point — they were not exactly sure what Huddleston had been doing since he went to Congress in 1973. With President Reagan crushing Walter F. Mondale by more than 280,000 votes statewide, McConnell was offered long coattails to latch onto, and he won by four-tenths of a percentage point.

McConnell's effective use of the absenteeism issue so concerned Democratic senators facing re-election in 1986 that when the 99th Congress convened, many of them made a new habit of attending every meeting of their committees. Republicans, fearing the hound dogs would be turned on them in 1986, followed the Democrats' practice, prompting GOP whip Alan Simpson to complain that the obsession with attendance was "like being in third grade."

Until the final weeks of the campaign, 1984

had been a good year for Huddleston. Prodigious early fund-raising and organizing helped him scare away a primary challenge from former Gov. John Y. Brown Jr. Brown actually launched a campaign, but after several weeks of failing to shake Democrats loose from Huddleston, the ex-governor withdrew, citing lingering health problems from 1983 heart surgery.

Meanwhile, McConnell was struggling. One of his early strategies for criticizing Huddleston's record — a series of weekly forums at which he hammered at the incumbent's shortcomings — had fizzled, partly because McConnell called the forums "Dope on Dee," prompting widespread snickers that the "Dope" was McConnell himself. The challenger was similarly unsuccessful in trying to focus attention on a subject rarely mentioned any more — the Panama Canal transfer treaties, which Huddleston had voted for in 1978. Still another blow to McConnell's prestige came when Huddleston won the endorsement of Marlow W. Cook, the last Republican to win a Senate election in Kentucky, even though McConnell had worked in Washington as Cook's chief legislative aide.

At times, it seemed that McConnell's campaign was surviving on little more than the candidate's fierce ambition to be a senator, a goal he admitted having harbored for two decades. But McConnell ignored his lack of progress and maintained an active campaigning and fund-raising schedule. He highlighted his record as Jefferson County judge and kept searching for some way to undermine Huddleston.

National Republican officials also retained interest in the Kentucky race. Few Democratic senators up in 1984 seemed highly vulnerable; GOP strategists were determined to find at least one with less-than-solid bases of support.

Mitch McConnell, R-Ky.

Huddleston fit into that category. An easygoing mainstream Democrat who had moved from the state Senate to Washington, he worked behind the scenes on Kentucky issues, such as tobacco and coal, never causing much controversy and never earning much publicity. He did not build a devoted following in the state, unlike his ally and Kentucky's junior senator, Democrat Wendell H. Ford, who served as governor before moving to the Senate.

When McConnell unleashed the hounds on Huddleston in late August and began to gain momentum, the incumbent had trouble rousing his organization. It had been lulled into overconfidence by Brown's exit from the primary: Huddleston backers could not imagine a first-time GOP candidate succeeding where a colorful former Democratic governor had failed. The Huddleston campaign failed to devise an imaginative counter to McConnell's advertising.

McConnell carried the major metropolitan areas — his own Jefferson County, the Northern Kentucky suburbs of Cincinnati, Fayette County (Lexington) and Daviess County (Owensboro), and he took a huge 37,000-vote majority out of the 5th Congressional District, where Rep. Hal Rogers worked hard to convince the traditionally Republican rural voters that a Louisvillian like McConnell could represent their interests. A mass exodus from Walter Mondale hurt Huddleston in rural eastern and western Kentucky; he carried most counties in those regions, but not by the margins Democrats typically roll up there. McConnell's vic-

tory marked the first time since Cook's win in 1968 that the GOP had won an election for statewide office in Kentucky.

A lifelong political overachiever, McConnell was student body president in high school and college, and president of the student bar association at law school. After earning his law degree in 1967, he worked for GOP Sen. Cook and then served as deputy assistant U.S. attorney general in the Ford administration. In his 1977 campaign for Jefferson County judge, McConnell defeated a Democratic incumbent; four years later, he won re-election by a narrow margin.

As county judge, McConnell was conservative, but not particularly partisan. By streamlining the county budget and staff, he was able to increase the number of police on patrol, in spite of spending constraints. He improved conditions at the county jail and youth detention center and appointed the county's first black female department head, but voters twice rejected his urgings to merge Jefferson County and Louisville city government.

Many Kentuckians first heard of McConnell thorough his work as founder and chairman of the Kentucky Task Force on Exploited and Missing Children. The task force held hearings across the state and encouraged counties to take such steps as establishing youth fingerprinting programs to aid in the tracing of missing children. In his Senate race, McConnell heavily touted his work on the issue.

Committees

Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry (9th of 9 Republicans)
Agricultural Production, Marketing and Stabilization of Prices.
Agricultural Research, Conservation, Forestry and General Legislation; Foreign Agricultural Policy.

Judiciary (10th of 10 Republicans)
Juvenile Justice; Security and Terrorism.

Select Intelligence (8th of 8 Republicans)

Elections**1984 General**

Mitch McConnell (R)	644,990	(50%)
Walter D. Huddleston (D)	639,721	(50%)

1984 Primary

Mitch McConnell (R)	39,465	(79%)
C. Roger Harker (R)	3,798	(8%)
Tommy Klein (R)	3,352	(7%)
Thurman J. Hamlin (R)	3,202	(6%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1978			
McConnell (R)	\$1,591,303	\$283,496 (18%)	\$1,776,128
Huddleston (D)	\$2,189,001	\$808,479 (37%)	\$2,380,239

Key Votes

Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)

Y

South Carolina - Junior Senator

Ernest F. Hollings (D)

Of Charleston — Elected 1966

Born: Jan. 1, 1922, Charleston, S.C.

Education: The Citadel, B.A. 1942; U. of S.C., LL.B. 1947.

Military Career: Army, 1942-45.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Rita Louise Liddy; four children.

Religion: Lutheran.

Political Career: S.C. House, 1949-55; S.C. h. gov., 1955-59; gov., 1959-63; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate, 1962.

Capitol Office: 125 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-6121.



In Washington: Hollings is a military school product who prides himself on realism and discipline — and in recent years he has focused that approach on economic problems. As a senior member of the Budget Committee, he has sounded the same call to national sacrifice that has marked his campaign for the 1984 presidential nomination.

Hollings insists that everyone in society — from generals in the Pentagon to Social Security recipients — must agree to give up something if the federal budget is ever to be balanced and the economy repaired. He has advocated a freeze on domestic and military spending levels that would not spare any of the major beneficiaries of federal money.

Few in the Senate challenge the intellectual rigor of Hollings' approach or the sincerity behind it. His ideas, particularly the proposal for a spending freeze, have significantly influenced the budget debates of the 1980s.

Sometimes, however, Hollings' style is a hindrance. He is supremely confident of the rightness of his economic views, and it shows. Candid to the point of occasional rudeness, he is openly scornful of colleagues who are reluctant to make the political decisions implicit in his program. Colleagues who disagree with his brand of sacrifice run the risk of being labeled not only mistaken but muddle-headed and soft.

Handsome, graceful and perfectly tailored, Hollings is a symbol of Southern breeding and education. He looks every inch the president he aspires to become; with his booming voice and rich Tidewater accent, he is an impressive, almost overwhelming presence in committee or on the Senate floor.

He has a sharp tongue, and little hesitation about using it in public. It can cause trouble, however; during a 1981 debate on his effort to

stop the Justice Department from trying to block voluntary school prayer, he described Ohio Democrat Howard M. Metzenbaum as "the senator from B'nai B'rith." "I am the senator from Ohio," responded Metzenbaum, who is Jewish. "I was not throwing off on his religion," Hollings apologized. "I said it only in fun." But the memory of the incident lingered.

Hollings' strengths and weaknesses as a national leader were evident during his three years as the senior Democrat on the Budget Committee. He became chairman of the panel in 1980 after Edmund S. Muskie resigned to become Secretary of State, and he served as ranking Democrat during the 97th Congress.

During his brief tenure as chairman, Hollings promoted and moved through the Senate a 1981 budget resolution drawn up to be in balance — the first such achievement in the history of the budget process. While recession eventually forced a deficit of \$50 billion, Hollings remained proud of the effort and sensitive to mention of its failure.

After moving into the minority, however, Hollings did not expend much effort trying to arrive at a unified Democratic response to President Reagan's budget. He seemed more interested in putting forth his own ideas than in establishing a consensus in his party.

The crux of Hollings' budget plan is that the federal government simply stop, for a time, doing the things that contributed to its massive deficits. He would eliminate scheduled tax cuts, halt automatic benefit increases to individuals and slow the growth in Pentagon spending.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of that plan, given Hollings' background, was its 3 percent annual limit on the inflation-adjusted growth of defense spending. During the 1970s, Hollings was known as a vigorous backer of more dollars for the Defense Department and a

Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C.

sharp critic of arms limitation treaties with the Soviet Union. He has emerged, however, as a leading critic of the Reagan defense buildup.

The B-1 bomber and the MX missile are two of Hollings' special targets. He offered an amendment in 1981 to eliminate funds for the B-1, which he said would be outmoded by 1990. That amendment was defeated 28-66, but his 1982 effort against the MX missile came within four votes, 50-46, of blocking funding until Congress approved a design for its installation. Then he helped work out an agreement with the House that essentially killed the "dense pack" basing system the administration suggested for the MX.

Hollings chose to give up his ranking seat on the Budget Committee at the beginning of the 98th Congress, opting instead to become the leading Democrat on Commerce. He had seemed frustrated by his role as a member of the minority on budget, and the committee's interminable debates and markup sessions would have made a full-scale presidential campaign difficult for its ranking Democrat. Hollings had not played a particularly prominent role on the Commerce Committee before 1983, taking a back seat with the rest of the Democrats to former chairman Howard W. Cannon of Nevada. His most outspoken position was against deregulation proposals for industries such as trucking and railroads. Part of his opposition was due to South Carolina's experience with airline deregulation, which sharply cut the number of flights into the state.

In the 96th Congress, as chairman of the Commerce Subcommittee on Communications, Hollings set out on an unsuccessful effort to rewrite the Communications Act of 1934. He introduced a bill to substitute market competition for federal regulation of many aspects of the telephone, telegraph and cable TV industries, insisting that monopolies and federal regulation were ideas of the past, and "competition and diversity" were "ideas of the future."

Hollings has threaded his way carefully through civil rights issues during his long career. Although associated in earlier years with President Kennedy, Hollings voted against some major civil rights legislation as a junior senator during Lyndon Johnson's presidency. He opposed the 1968 open housing bill, but backed an unsuccessful attempt in 1980 to strengthen it. He has consistently supported the 1965 Voting Rights Act and its extensions.

He drew support in civil rights circles in 1969 when he made a tour of rural areas of his state, said he had found hunger and poverty to a degree he had never realized existed, and came out for free food stamps for the neediest.

He was active in the Senate on nutrition issues in the years after that. More recently he has talked about abuses in the food stamp program, but he still votes for money to support it.

Hollings long had aspirations to the Senate leadership. When former Majority Leader Mike Mansfield announced his retirement in 1976, Hollings announced his candidacy immediately. He later dropped out of the race, however, to give Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota a "clear shot" against West Virginian Robert C. Byrd. Humphrey eventually withdrew, and Byrd won by acclamation.

At Home: Hollings built his political career in South Carolina at a time of emotional argument about racial issues. He succeeded in combining old-time rhetoric with a tangible record of moderation.

As a candidate in the late 1950s, he firmly espoused states' rights and condemned school integration. In his inaugural speech as governor in 1959, Hollings criticized President Eisenhower for commanding a "marching army, this time not against Berlin, but against Little Rock." But as chief executive of the state, he quietly integrated the public schools.

In fact, despite grumblings about his rhetoric, blacks provided Hollings' margin of victory in 1966, when he won his Senate seat against a more conservative Republican opponent. Since then, he never has faced a credible candidate to his left, and blacks have generally supported him.

During the Depression, the Hollings family paper business went bankrupt, so an uncle had to borrow money to send him to The Citadel, where he received an Army commission. Hollings returned home from World War II for law school and a legal career. That soon led to politics.

As a young state legislator, he attracted notice with his plan to solve the problem of inferior black schools without integration. He said a special sales tax should be imposed to upgrade the black schools.

Hollings twice won unanimous election to the state House speakership and in 1954 moved up to lieutenant governor. In 1958, Democratic Gov. George B. Timmerman was ineligible to succeed himself. Hollings won a heated three-way race for the nomination, defeating Donald S. Russell, former University of South Carolina president and a protégé of ex-Gov. James F. Byrnes. The primary turned on political alliances and geography. Hollings' base lay in Tidewater and Russell's in Piedmont.

As governor, Hollings worked hard to strengthen his state's educational system, establishing a commission on higher education.

Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C.

In 1960 he campaigned for John F. Kennedy, who carried South Carolina.

Barred from seeking a second gubernatorial term in 1962, he challenged Democratic Sen. Olin D. Johnston. Portraying himself as "a young man on the go," Hollings attacked Johnston's endorsement by the state AFL-CIO and charged that "foreign labor bosses" were seeking to control the state. Hollings failed to draw much more than a third of the vote.

The senator died in 1965, however, and Donald Russell — by then governor — had himself appointed to the seat. That provided

an issue for Hollings' comeback in 1966. He ousted Russell in the special primary to finish Johnston's term.

The 1966 election year was not an ordinary one in South Carolina. The national Democratic Party was unpopular, and Republican state Sen. Marshall Parker seized on Hollings' connections to it in an effort to defeat him. He nearly made it, but Hollings matched his conservative rhetoric and survived by 11,768 votes.

Running for a full term two years later, Hollings had little trouble turning back Parker. Since then, he has rolled over weak opponents.

Committees

Commerce, Science and Transportation (Ranking)
Communications (Ranking), National Ocean Policy Study (Ranking)

Appropriations (5th of 14 Democrats)

Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary and Related Agencies (Ranking); Defense, Energy and Water Development, Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies; Legislative Branch.

Budget (2nd of 10 Democrats)

Elections

1960 General

Ernest Hollings (D)	612,554	(70%)
Marshall Mays (R)	257,946	(30%)

1960 Primary

Ernest Hollings (D)	266,796	(81%)
Nettie Dickerson (D)	34,720	(11%)
William Kraml (D)	27,049	(8%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1974 (70%) 1982 (62%)
1986* (51%)

* Special election.

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1980			
Hollings (D)	\$810,270	\$249,515 (31%)	\$723,427
Mays (R)	\$66,322	\$5,200 (8%)	\$66,044

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	43	45	73	20	55	36
1981	54	38	58	35	67	30
1980	63	28	55	33	64	23

1979	57	37	82	31	75	20
1978	66	23	61	33	58	35
1977	66	31	65	29	40	54
1976	49	40	65	26	40	55
1975	48	45	61	32	56	36
1974 (Ford)	43	50				
1974	45	29	42	41	56	24
1973	43	49	63	29	53	39
1972	57	35	61	31	46	45
1971	43	29	53	35	63	28
1970	59	35	52	31	50	33
1969	38	32	51	35	66	17
1968	24	37	41	24	47	14
1967	54	35	47	37	61	13

S = Support

O = Opposition

Key Votes

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	N
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	?

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	55	50	74	53
1981	55	29	58	35
1980	39	43	22	62
1979	32	35	41	30
1978	30	52	39	59
1977	30	52	56	61
1976	40	28	80	25
1975	44	33	42	27
1974	24	60	50	75
1973	45	44	60	67
1972	25	40	40	20
1971	44	39	75	-
1970	22	5	50	71
1969	22	55	33	-
1968	14	56	75	-
1967	8	65	17	50

PROTOCOL BRANCH
Office of Personnel
Routing Slip

TO:	DCI
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DDCI
	ExDir
	DDA
	DDI
	DDO
	DDS&T
	D/Pers
	ADDA
	ADDI
	ADDO
	ADDS&T

TO:	DC/BSD/OP
	DCI Security
	HQS Security Branch
	Main Receptionist

REMARKS:

Attached is background material for

- ☐ Honor and Merit Award Ceremony
- ☒ DCI's Breakfast-Revision

In honor of: SSCI

Date/Time: 0800-Thursday, 26 September 1985

PR/BSD/OP
25 SEP 1985

(Date) _____

DINING ROOM EVENTS

TIME/DAY/DATE: 0800-Thurs~~day~~, 26 September 1985BREAKFAST XX LUNCHEON _____ DINNER _____HOST: DCI XX DDCI _____ EX DIR _____ OTHER: _____PLACE: DCI D.R. XX EDR _____ OTHER: _____

GUEST LIST: Agency
 DCI, host
 DDCI, co-host
 D/OLL
 ADDO

Hill
 Senator Dave Durenberger, (R., MN), Chairman,
 SSCI
 Senator Patrick Leahy (D., VT) Vice Chairman,
 SSCI
 Senator William S. Cohen (R., ME)
 Senator Orrin Hatch (R., UT)
 Senator Frank Murkowski (R., AK)
 Senator Mitch McConnell (R., KY)
 Senator Ernest F. Hollings (D., SC)
 Mr. Bernard F. McMahon, Staff Director
 Mr. Eric D. Newsom, Min. Staff Director

MENU: Juice
 Fresh Fruit
 English Muffins
 Scrambled Eggs
 Bacon (Serve on Platters)
 Coffee/Tea

TOTAL: 13

SEATING ARRANGEMENT: (WINDOWS)

